

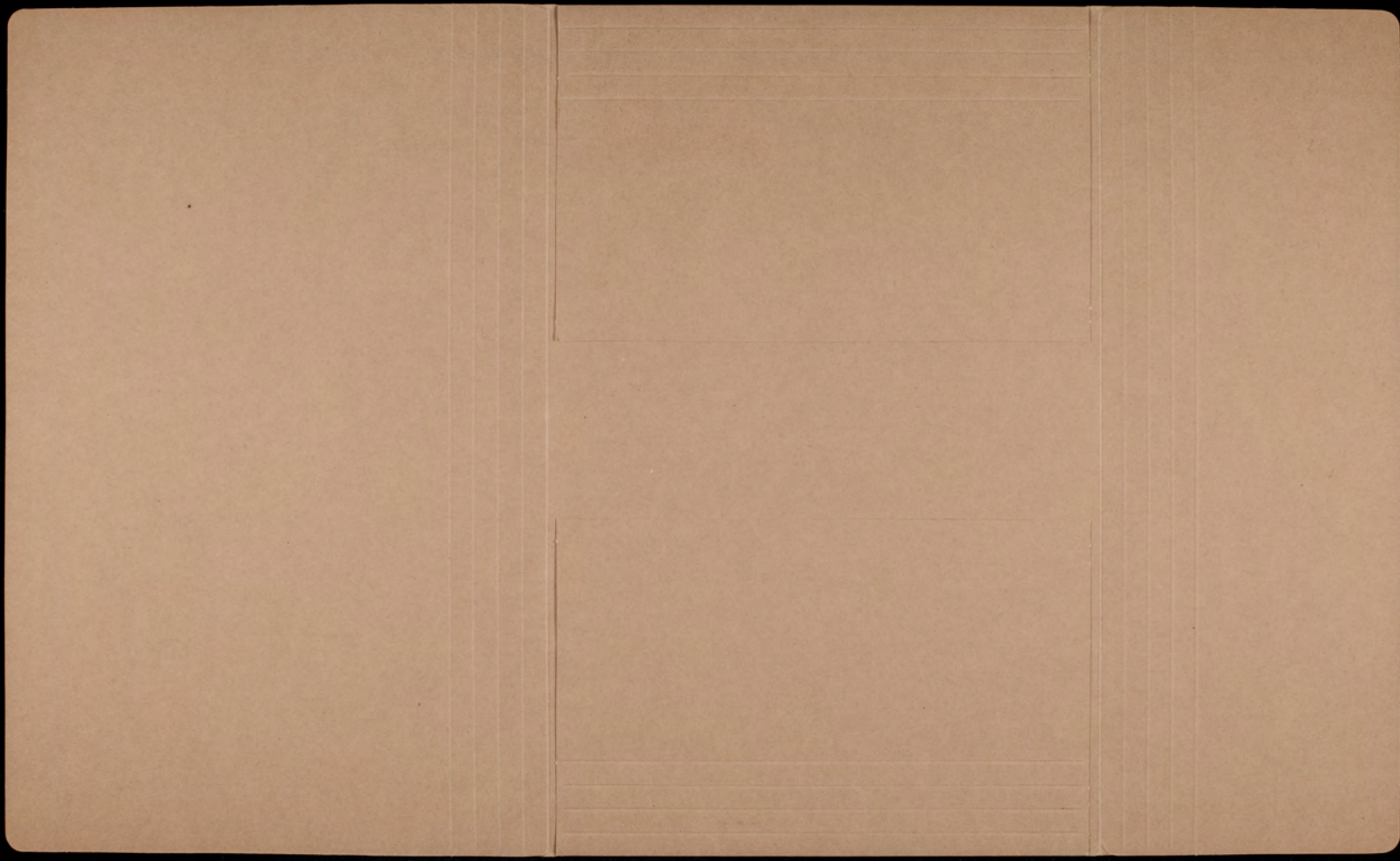
F.O.

371

183872

CLOSED
UNTIL

1996



V

(Security Grading—to be Up-graded where Appropriate)

CONFIDENTIAL

NORTH AND EAST AFRICAN DEPT.

ETHIOPIA

VA 1821/1

FROM

Foreign Office
Minute by
Mr. Norton
No. -

Dated 13-5-65

Received

14-5-65

SUBJECT: Southern Sudanese Refugees in Ethiopia
OXFAM seeking confirmation of reports of increased flow of refugees to Ethiopia, and Army policy in this matter.

Encloses Copy of:

References and Relevant Papers:

VA103150/2
VS1015/79

-/2

(Outward Action)

1) A.D. Parsons, Khartoum
from Mr. Dodds '4/5
86) Addis Ababa '4/5

SEE MINUTES WITHIN

(Printing Instructions)

183872

(Referred to Legal Adviser)

(Action completed)

Atb

15-6-65

(Main Indexed)

9/3/67

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN

RECEIVED IN
ARCHIVES No 12
14 MAY 1965

VA1821/1

Minutes

Southern Sudanese refugees in Ethiopia

As agreed, I attach a draft letter to Khartoum ~~reporting~~ my telephone conversations today with Mr. Burns of OXFAM (telephone LUD 7637) on the above subject.

WJE Norton

(W. J. E. Norton)
13 May, 1965

Mr. Dodds for action first. See letter of 14 May, 1965
Mr. Laurence after action with

FORD (R. Shob) WES 31/5

12/19/5

A) A.D. Parsons, Khartoum to Mr. Dodds of 19/5

18/6

FORD (R. Shob) WES 18/6

Registry
No.

VA 1821/1

~~Top Secret.~~
~~Secret.~~
Confidential.
~~Restricted.~~
~~Open.~~

WJEN
13/5

Insert Telephone No. & Ext.
when appropriate.

CONFIDENTIAL

14/3
+1c
14 MAY 1965

Draft. Letter

A.D. Parsons, Esq. M.V.O., M.C.

A. R. Walmsley,
C.M.G., M.B.E.,
Khartoum.

From:-

Mr J. Dodds

Copy to:-

Chancery, Addis
Ababa.

ADWOK
It may tie in with
paragraph 6 of your
letter 10110 of 6 May
in which you report
Luigi Adewole's statement on
the Army's activities in his
own neighbourhood. I see
from the Personality Notes
that he comes from Upper
Nile Province which borders
the Republic.

As a postscript to recent correspondence
about Southern Sudanese refugees in Ethiopia,
you may wish to know that, Bill Norton in
an OXFAM executive rang a member of this Depart-
ment on 13 May with the following information.
He said that a U.S. missionary in Ethiopia, by
name Don Maclure, had appealed for OXFAM's
help to deal with a "remarkable increase" in the
flow of ^{such} refugees to Ethiopia. Maclure had heard
in this connection that the Sudanese Army was
now pursuing a "policy of near extermination"
in dealing with South ^{-em} Sudanese rebels. It
appeared that this development, and the new
influx of refugees to which it gave rise, dated
only from the last two to three weeks. (that is
to say, it was subsequent to Sir ^{John} Russell's
visit to Gambela in March). In response to
OXFAM's asking if we could confirm this informa-
tion, we could only say that there were indica-
tions that the situation in that area had recently
deteriorated, *although we knew that Gambela was quiet*
in March.

2. I am sending a copy of this letter to the
Chancery at Addis Ababa. Incidentally OXFAM
were unable to enlighten us as to whether their
director, Kirtley, had in fact visited Gambela
last summer, as he originally intended to do;

*and they have not yet told us ~~what~~ how
they propose to ~~to~~ ^{react to} Maclure's new
appeal.*

3. I am sending a copy of the letter, together with
a copy of your letter of 6 May to the Chancery at Addis Ababa.

CONFIDENTIAL

RECEIVED IN
DIVISION

14 MAY 1965

SENT TO
BY 14/5
DESPATCHED 14/5

CONFIDENTIAL

(VA 1821/1)

FOREIGN OFFICE,
S.W. 1.

14 May, 1965.

(which?)

You may wish to know that an OXFAM executive rang Bill Norton in this Department on 13 May with the following information. He said that a United States missionary in Ethiopia, by name Don Maclure, had appealed for OXFAM's help to deal with a "remarkable increase" in the flow of such refugees to Ethiopia. Maclure had heard in this connection that the Sudanese Army was now pursuing a "policy of near extermination" in dealing with Southern Sudanese rebels. It appeared that this development, and the new influx of refugees to which it gave rise, dated only from the last two to three weeks. In response to OXFAM's asking if we could confirm this information, we could only say that there were indications that the situation in that area had recently deteriorated, although we knew that Gambela was quiet in March. It may tie in with paragraph 6 of your letter 10110 of 6 May in which you report Luigi Adwok's statement on the Army's activities in his own neighbourhood. I see from the Personality Notes that Adwok comes from Upper Nile Province which borders on Ethiopia.

Kirtley

2. OXFAM were unable to enlighten us as to whether their director, Kirtley, had in fact visited Gambela last Summer, as he originally intended to do; and they have not yet told us how they propose to react to Maclure's new appeal.

3. I am sending a copy of this letter, together with a copy of your letter of 6 May to the Chancery at Addis Ababa.

(J. Dodds)

A.D. Parsons, Esq., M.V.O., M.C.,
KHARTOUM.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL



1. R. L. ^{Pls.} *26/5*
2. R. *Norton* *26/5*
3. plw
BRITISH EMBASSY,

KHARTOUM.

RECEIVED IN
ARCH May, 1965
28 MAY 1965

VS 1821/1(A)

(10314)
10314

Dear Dodds,

Thank you for your letter ^AVS 1821/1 of 14 May about Southern Sudanese refugees to Ethiopia.

2. As you know, it is extremely difficult to get hard information about the situation on the ground in the Southern Provinces. However the idea that the Sudanese Army is now pursuing a policy of near extermination conflicts with the picture we have built up. As we have already reported, our impression is that the Army does little else except sit in its barracks, carry out essential escort duties and launch sporadic reprisal raids. These raids are no doubt carried out with no lack of brutality nor regard for the sanctity of human life but we doubt whether the Army has the will, the power or the command structure to carry out anything approximating to a systematic policy of near extermination.

3. During the past few days all the newspapers have agreed that the situation in the South continues to deteriorate and that it is being further complicated by the advent of the rainy season. As you will recall, last year's rainy season proved to be something of a turning point in the struggle between the Armed Forces and the rebels. The Armed Forces had expected that the rains would bring all activity to a standstill and that they could resume operations in the dry season more or less at the point where they left off when the rains began to fall. In the event the rain bogged the Army down but the rebels took advantage of their local knowledge to step up their operations: this had a considerable effect on the general military situation. Last year's experience suggests that the Army must now be feeling even more exposed and vulnerable to the rebels than it has been during the past six months.

4. This is pure guesswork but it may well be that the influx of refugees to which Maclure refers was the immediate result of some reprisal attacks by the Army in Upper Nile Province - probably, as you suggest, the same operations about which Luigi Adwok complained to the Prime Minister.

5. I am sending a copy of this letter to the Chancery at Addis Ababa.

Yours ever
Tony.

(A. D. Parsons)

J. Dodds, Esq.,
North & East African Department,
Foreign Office.

CONFIDENTIAL

1965

V

NORTH AND EAST AFRICAN DEPT.

ETHIOPIA.
ETHIOPIA.

(Security Grading—to be Up-graded
where Appropriate)

CONFIDENTIAL

V^A 1821/2

FROM

R. H. Baker,
Addis Ababa
to Mr. Norton

No. 1022/65

Dated 2 June

Received

9 June

SUBJECT:

A further increase of Sudanese
refugees in Ethiopia as the result of
a drive by the Army. Experiences of
Mr. Harris of OXFAM.

Encloses Copy of:

References and Relevant Papers:

-1-

VK1022/8

(Outward Action)

Dft) R.H. Baker, Addis Ababa
from Mr. Norton 18/6

8c) Parsons, Khartoum
Chancery, Wgton 18/6
High Commission, Kampala

8f) A.H. WALKER, Wgton. 21/7
FROM W.J.E. NORTON

MINUTES

AA 23/6

You may like to see.

Htsuphuron 11/6

WCA (8/10)

UN (K+S) Dept.

ya.

We must keep an eye on these

developments.

FORA (Africa)
WES 2/7

12 15/6

① Dft. to issue

② Resubmit to WJN.
MFA 18/6.

(Printing Instructions)

(Referred to Legal Adviser)

(Action
completed)

(Main Indexed)

Ans
12/7/65

12/3/67

You may care to see §2 of outgoing letter.

WJN
21/6.

12 22/6

(Circulate as above).

A

A) C. C. Wickard, Khartoum to Mr. Norton 1063 of 24/6/65

WJSN.
9/7.

B) A. Russell, Addis Ababa - A. Lawrence 1022/65 3/7

~~THIS~~
If Sir J. Russell was never ~~near~~
less than 60 miles from the Sudan frontier
I don't see how he can be so categorical
that there were no refugees in the area.

2. Draft to W'ton.

WJSN.
20/7.

C) A. H. WALKER, Washington to W. J. E. NORTON (10228) of 24/7.

We shall see.

WJSN.
29/7.

Number of copies.....

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of enclosures.....

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Enter
9/6.

BRITISH EMBASSY,

(1022/65)

CONFIDENTIAL

ADDIS ABABA.

2 June, 1965.

RECEIVED IN
ARCHIVE No. 1
- 9 JUN 1965

VA1821/2

Dear Bill,

Would you please refer to correspondence about an increase of Sudanese refugees in Ethiopia; Dodd's letter to Parsons VS 1821/1 of 14 May and Parsons' reply of 19 May?

2. Mr. Harris of Oxfam has been here over the last four days investigating Maclure's report. He came here from Kampala, where the Sudanese Minister of Communications ("a Southerner") told him that a drive by the Army was indeed taking place, and that a further increase of refugees, especially of women and children sent over the border for safety by the rebels themselves, could be expected in the Gambela area. Harris also gathered in Kampala that Deng was now regarded as a traitor by the Southern exiles; and that many of the Southerners attending the meeting in Kampala would not return to the Sudan.

3. On 31 May Harris flew down to Gambela with Maclure in a chartered plane. The Governor of the Gambela area made no secret of his problems, which are serious and new. (There was nothing of this sort going on when the Ambassador was in and around Gambela in early March.) Few refugees had so far reached Gambela itself, and they were mostly young students and schoolboys hoping to get to Addis Ababa to continue their studies. The area between Gambela and the border (the "nose" that sticks out into the Sudan), however, was swarming with refugees, mainly women and children: fifty per cent of the families had no adult males with them. Most of the men are fighting the army in the Sudan. There had been clashes between the refugees and the local inhabitants, who no longer had any food to spare and resented this intrusion. The Governor had received reinforcements of police and soldiers.

4. Harris flew over the area and saw the encampments of the refugees. His pilot refused to land away from Gambela itself because of the disturbances.

5. The immediate problems are starvation and the need to move the families away from the border where they are crowding the inhabitants and settle them where they can grow some food. Harris estimates that there are some 10,000 people on the border line of starvation. (I have no means of checking this figure: but it seems very high to me.) Maclure is doing his best to cope with this by freighting free American /grain

W.J.E. Norton, Esq.,
North and East African Department,
Foreign Office,
London, S.W.1..

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grain from Djibouti where it is stored to Jimma, and flying it thence in chartered D.C.3's. He has to meet the transport costs, and has the money for this. There is apparently no shortage of land, and the Governor has made some available for settlement. Harris thinks that Oxfam may well help with the cost of settlement - transport, tools, seed and food until the first crop matures in September. The money would be passed to Maclure through the World Council of Churches - a banking transaction.

6. After his flight Harris saw an Assistant Minister in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, a Vice-Minister in the Ministry of the Interior, and the Minister of the Imperial Court. We had warned him to make sure that help from Oxfam would not be unwelcome to the Ethiopians.

7. Harris found all three Ministers worried by the problem and anxious to have Oxfam help. They asked him to do what he could, but to give it no publicity. The Ministers all said they would have to recognise the problem soon, but could not ask for United Nations relief lest the Somalis should follow suit. They were also anxious to prevent relations with the Sudan from deteriorating further - they were bad enough already: hence the request for no publicity. (I imagine that the Ethiopians wish to avoid prodding the Sudanese into overt retaliatory support for the Eritrean rebels operating on the northern part of the border. We would be grateful for any news about that area that Khartoum can provide.)

8. The approach of the rains in the Southern Sudan may bog down the Army but will not solve the refugees' problems: their villages have been burnt and they have no food to return to.

9. The Sudanese Ambassador has asked for the expulsion of Maclure but has had no satisfaction from the Ethiopians.

10. Harris was told by the Ministry of the Interior that a number of American small arms were recently captured by the Ethiopian Army from a contingent of the Sudanese Army which made an incursion into Ethiopia while chasing rebels. These arms are thought to have come from Congo rebels who have withdrawn from the Congo and have been recruited by the Sudanese Army for the campaign in the South.

11. I am copying this letter to Parsons in Khartoum, the High Commission in Kampala and Chancery in Washington.

Yours ever,
Richard

(R.H. BAKER)

CONFIDENTIAL

WJEN/

18/6

VP 1821/2

Chris
CONFIDENTIAL

18/ 18 JUN 1965

DRAFT: Letter to:-

R.H. Baker, Esq.,

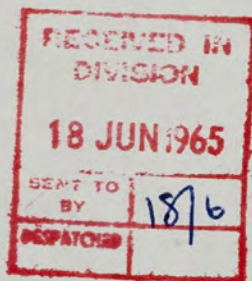
Addis Ababa

(Bag 10 a.m.

Monday 21/6)

from:

WJENorton



Copy to:

Mr. Parsons,
Khartoum

Chancery,
Washington

High Commission,
Kampala

All this area,
it seems, is dense
jungle.

Thank you for your letter (1022/65) of

2~~nd~~ June, reporting your interesting conversation with Mr. Harris of OXFAM about Sudanese refugees in Ethiopia.

2. Harris called on me on 17 June ~~to expand~~ *with some* ~~on what he told you.~~ *to expand on this.* *Of particular note were his* ~~The most notable part of~~

~~his information concerned reports of Sudanese~~ *Sorties* ~~Army incursions into Ethiopia.~~ *In February, so* ~~The Governor~~

Province had ~~of Ilubabor~~ *L* ~~told him that in February,~~ 600 Sudanese troops were seen 14 miles inside

Ethiopia in ~~the~~ Gambela *area;* ~~section;~~ they were

thought to be looking for MacLure, ~~who is said to~~ *in the Sudan* ~~apparently have~~ a price on his head *(para-*

Harris ~~graph 9 of your letter).~~ ~~Harris said that~~ The

American Ambassador in Addis Ababa and the

Ethiopian Vice-Minister of the Interior had

subsequently assured ~~him~~ *L* ~~that this report was~~ authentic. Further, Harris himself while

flying over the frontier area in May *had seen,* ~~from a~~

height of 50 feet, ~~had seen~~ about 12 Sudanese

troops in uniform 5 miles inside the Ethiopian frontier, in an area thick with refugees. *L*

3. Of the situation inside the Southern Sudan

Harris had a certain amount to report, all

of which, he emphasised, was necessarily

hearsay. It seems ~~that the drive by the~~ *campaign*

Sudanese Army *L* ~~which has~~ led to the refugee

incursions *is* ~~was~~ local, and confined to the area

of South Sudan opposite Ilubabor and Walaga

Provinces. There ~~has~~ *g* been no corresponding

new influx of refugees into Uganda recently,

although this was the scene *where* ~~of the largest~~

took place ~~incursions~~ *L* ~~last year.~~ ~~In this area,~~ *of the present campaign*

~~Sudanese Army were said to hold all the roads~~ *L* ~~and in~~

~~In their present campaign, the Sudanese Army holds all the roads and forbids their use to civilians. In their~~

reprisals against the ^{local} ~~civilian~~ population, ~~which they do not discriminate~~, the Sudanese Army ~~are~~ not discriminating between rebels and others, ~~their reprisals~~ take the form of burning villages, destroying crops, and closing schools. There ~~were~~ ^{are} stories of atrocities, e.g. of 200 civilians (not necessarily rebels) being tied up and thrown inside huts which were then ~~destroyed by fire~~ ^{burnt}. When the rains begin at the end of this month, the roads ~~will~~ become impassable and the Sudanese Army ~~would become bogged down~~ ^{will be largely immobilised}. When this happens, the rebels ~~are~~ likely to counter-attack in force.

4. As regards the refugee incursions into Ethiopia, Harris ~~emphasised that these~~ ^{reaffirmed what he told you, namely} ~~did not have much to add to what~~ ^{he told you. Apparently} ~~he told you. Apparently~~ ^{incursions are mainly} ~~children. Apparently the main area of the~~ ^{taking} ~~the main incursions are in the territory of~~ ^{incursions is inhabited by two tribes,}

the Anuak (Bantu) and Luer (Nilotic), both of whom straddle the frontier; ~~which you reported~~ ^{the} ~~food shortage on the Ethiopian side of the frontier was becoming so severe, that the Ethiopian tribesmen are resorting to force in order to keep out their Sudanese kinsmen of the same tribes.~~ ^{fellows tribesmen.}

5. ~~The measures being taken in Ethiopia to combat the problem were so far mainly at the local level.~~ ^{As stated in your letter,} ~~The Ethiopian~~

Government ~~are~~ ^{is} not yet ready to recognise the problem officially, although ^{Harris} ~~had~~ ^{had} heard that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs ~~are~~ submitting a paper to the Emperor on this subject. Harris thought that the local authorities had a good

understanding of the problem, and were tackling it sensibly ~~as far as~~ ^{as far as} their limited funds and equipment allowed.

In their present Campaign, the Sudanese Army Control all the roads and forbid their use to civilians. Their

~~According~~
to Harris ~~was~~ ^{was} old,

Thus the clashes which you reported between the local population and the refugees, due to food shortage, are between ~~tribesmen~~ ^{tribesmen} and ~~fellows~~ ^{tribesmen}.

5. According to Harris, the measures being

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN

Harris had the impression that the ^{Ethiopian} ~~local~~ authorities were delighted at this show of British interest. He did not, however, expect that OXFAM would send any more representatives to the area for some months at least.

Harris had the impression that this British ^{although small} contribution ^{is} ~~was~~ very well received by the local authorities.

His own conclusion was that ~~the situation~~ ^{the situation is} ~~was~~ likely to get worse.

over Entrea

The Governor of Ilubabor Province had released food reserves held against famine to feed the refugees. He had mobilised the police to do what they could to help. He had given Maclure two pieces of land each of 500 acres, ^(85 of your letter) for resettlement of refugees, and had provided police protection for the escort of refugees from the frontier to these areas. I was, incidentally, given to understand that Harris mentioned that Maclure as the local representative of the American Presbyterian Mission, ^{is free to operate} ~~which covers~~ ^{anywhere} ~~everything~~ west of ^{the} 36 degrees parallel of longitude.

8. ~~Harris concluded that the situation~~ ^{was} ~~seemed~~ rugged and was likely to get worse. As regards

8. OXFAM's ^{own} assistance ~~foreseen in~~ (paragraph 5 of your letter) ~~this~~ has now been approved to a total of £3,000, mainly for purchases of grain; as you forecast, it is being channelled ^{through} ~~through~~ Maclure.

9. Although Harris' reports are fairly dramatic, he struck me as a sensible person and likely to be an intelligent observer.

While, as you ~~may~~ ^{will} say, his ~~reports~~ of figures may be exaggerated, I am inclined to credit most of what he says. ^{Harris} ~~he~~ did not expect that

OXFAM would send any further representatives to the area for some months at least.

10. In the context of the general deterioration of Ethiopia/Sudan ~~relations~~, these developments ^{will} clearly need watching, ^{especially} ~~while we realise that the opportunities for~~ you to do so, at least in a literal sense, are necessarily restricted, you will no doubt let us know of any further reports that reach you, and of your assessment of the situation generally.

CONFIDENTIAL

11. I am sending copies of this letter
to Parsons (Khartoum) Chancery (Washington),
and ^{the} High Commission (Kampala).

WJW
18/6

especially if
Sudanese troops
continue to violate
Ethiopian territory. ~~He~~

~~We will realise
that your opportunities for
keeping an eye on this
area are~~

We should welcome any
further reports that come
your way

realise that
this is a difficult
area for you to
cover, but
would nonetheless
welcome any
further reports
or assessments
that you ~~are~~
are able to pass
on.

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN

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CONFIDENTIAL

FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1.

(VA 1821/2)

18 June, 1965.

Dear Richard.

Thank you for your letter (1022/65) of 2 June, reporting your interesting conversation with Mr. Harris of OXFAM about Sudanese refugees in Ethiopia.

2. Harris called on me on 17 June to expand on this. Of particular note were his reports of Sudanese Army sorties into Ethiopia. In February, so the Governor of Ilubabor Province had told him, 600 Sudanese troops were seen 14 miles inside Ethiopia in the Gambela area; they were thought to be looking for Maclure, who is said to have a price on his head in the Sudan (paragraph 9 of your letter). The United States Ambassador in Addis Ababa and the Ethiopian Vice-Minister of the Interior had subsequently assured Harris that this report was authentic. Further, Harris himself while flying over the frontier area in May had seen, from a height of 50 feet, about 12 Sudanese troops in uniform 5 miles inside the Ethiopian frontier, in an area thick with refugees. All this area, it seems, is dense jungle.

3. Of the situation inside the Southern Sudan Harris had a certain amount to report, all of which, he emphasised, was necessarily hearsay. It seems that the Sudanese Army campaign which has led to the refugee incursions is local, and confined to the area of South Sudan opposite Ilubabor and Walaga Provinces. There has been no corresponding new influx of refugees into Uganda recently, although this was where the largest incursions took place last year. In their present campaign, the Sudanese Army control all the roads and forbid their use to civilians. Their reprisals against the local population, which do not discriminate between rebels and others, take the form of burning villages, destroying crops, and closing schools. There are stories of atrocities, e.g. of 200 civilians (not necessarily rebels) being tied up and thrown inside huts which were then burnt. When the rains begin at the end of this month, the roads will become impassable and the Sudanese Army will be largely immobilised. When this happens, so Harris was told, the rebels are likely to counter-attack in force.

4. As regards the refugee incursions into Ethiopia, Harris did not have much to add to what he told you. Apparently the main incursions are in the territory of two tribes, the Anuak (Bantu) and Luer (Nilotic), both of whom straddle the frontier; thus the clashes which you reported between the local population and the refugees, due to food shortage, are between fellow-tribesmen.

/5.

R.H. Baker, Esq.,
ADDIS ABABA.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

5. According to Harris, the measures being taken in Ethiopia to combat the problem are so far mainly at the local level. As stated in your letter, the Ethiopian Government are not yet ready to recognise the problem officially, although Harris had heard that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs are submitting a paper to the Emperor on the subject. Harris thought that the local authorities had a good understanding of the problem, and were tackling it sensibly as far as their limited funds and equipment allowed. The Governor of Ilubabor Province had released food reserves held against famine to feed the refugees. He had mobilised the police to do what they could to help. He had given Maclure two pieces of land, each of 500 acres, for resettlement of refugees (paragraph 5 of your letter), and had provided police protection for the escort of refugees from the frontier to these areas. Harris mentioned that Maclure, as the local representative of the American Presbyterian Mission, is free to operate anywhere west of the 36 degree parallel of longitude.

6. OXFAM's own assistance (paragraph 5 of your letter) has now been approved to a total of £3,000 mainly for purchases of grain; as you forecast, it is being channelled through Maclure. Harris had the impression that the Ethiopian authorities were delighted at this show of British interest. He did not, however, expect that 'OXFAM' would send any more representatives to the area for some months at least.

7. Although Harris' reports are fairly dramatic, he struck me as a sensible person and likely to be an intelligent observer. While, as you say, his figures may well be exaggerated, I am inclined to credit most of what he says. His own conclusion was that the situation is likely to get worse.

8. In the context of the general deterioration of Ethiopia/Sudan relations over Eritrea, these developments will clearly need watching, especially if Sudanese troops continue to violate Ethiopian territory. We realise that this is a difficult area for you to cover, but would nonetheless welcome any further reports or assessments that you are able to pass on.

9. I am sending copies of this letter to Parsons (Khartoum), Chancery (Washington), and the High Commission (Kampala).

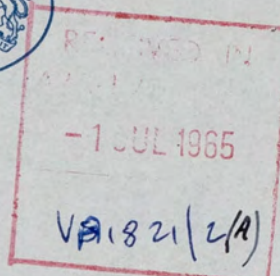
Syn (W.J.E. Norton).

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

~~Ex~~ p/w

BRITISH EMBASSY,
KHARTOUM.
26 June, 1965



(1063)

Dear Norton,

Please refer to para. 7 of Baker's letter 1022/65 of 2 June to you about Sudanese refugees in Ethiopia.

2. We have no firm information about the situation on the Sudanese-Ethiopian border, but it may be of interest to you to know that a local news agency recently gave a figure of 25,000 Sudanese refugees in Ethiopia. Our Military Attaché estimates that the number of Sudanese troops in the border area is about 250 to 300.

3. Copies of this letter go to Baker in Addis Ababa, to Chancery, Washington, and to the High Commission in Kampala.

Yours ever,

Christopher Wilcock

(C. C. Wilcock)

W. J. E. Norton, Esq.,
North & East African Department,
Foreign Office,
S.W.1

CONFIDENTIAL



BRITISH EMBASSY,

(1022/65)

CONFIDENTIAL

ADDIS ABABA.

3 July, 1965.

ARCHIVES No. 12

15 JUL 1965

VS 1821/2 'B'

My dear Peter

M. Norton
enter
14/7

There has been a lot of correspondence lately about Sudanese refugees in Ethiopia. I am not really in a position to add anything very positive or certain to this correspondence, as it is extremely difficult to collect reliable information about it. But I have a slightly unhappy feeling that the whole problem is being blown up to about five times life size: and this letter is merely intended as a caution, to stop too much credence being given to all these unsupported stories.

VA 1821/2

2. Wilcock's letter 1063 of 26 June from Khartoum to Norton in your department quotes a local news agency figure of 25,000 Sudanese in Ethiopia. This, I will without the slightest hesitation, say is utter nonsense.

3. Norton's letter ^BVS 1821/2 of 18 June to Richard Baker here quotes Harris of OXFAM as quoting the "Governor" of Illubabor Province to the effect that 600 Sudanese troops were seen 14 miles inside Ethiopia in the Gambela area. Of this again I would like a great deal more solid proof than this. What was the name of the "Governor" to whom he was talking? There have been changes there recently and the new "Acting Governor General" of Illubabor Province has hardly left Addis Ababa since he was appointed some three months ago. Furthermore, Gambela is a good sixty miles as the crow flies, and something like 150 as the Land Rover flies, along bad roads, from the nearest crossing point on the Sudan frontier: movement is rare and communications of all sorts bad and I would be intrigued to know exactly who observed these people 14 miles from the frontier. Personally I think this story, too, is nonsense.

NB.

4. In the same letter, the same paragraph 2, Mr. Harris is quoted as having personally identified from fifty feet up in the air twelve Sudanese troops in uniform five miles inside the Ethiopian frontier: and all this in dense jungle! Either Mr. Harris has X-ray eyes: or the Sudanese troops were sitting in the top of the trees waving their turbushes: or he was lucky to observe them in the one clearing for miles around: or they were Ethiopians: or he invented the whole story. I incline to the latter explanation.

5. In the same story Mr. Harris is quoted as saying that the area is "thick with refugees". I was there myself in March and there were no refugees there then at all: they must have thickened up awful quick!

6. In paragraph 8 of the same letter Norton refers to the possibility that Sudanese troops may continue to violate Ethiopian territory. It is curious that no such violation has ever been mentioned to me here in conversation either with the Colonel commanding the police at Gambela, or the Minister of the Interior to whom I put this specific question some three weeks ago, or General Merid, the Minister of Defence, or any other Ethiopian authority.

/7.

P.H. Laurence, Esq., M.C.,
North and East African Department,
Foreign Office,
London, S.W.1.

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2.

7. It is also curious that, if there is this reported state of turmoil with these vast numbers of refugees and troops milling around, the Ethiopian Government has taken no steps to close the area to visitors and still allows people to go in by the regular air service which visits Gambela every Tuesday, Wednesday and Saturday. Since we were there, one young Italian visitor, Count Orsini, has been down there by road (and by himself, in a single Land Rover at that) and a young American, the son of the millionaire, Paul Mellon, has also been down trying to shoot a white-eared kob. Both were allowed to move freely in the district. Add to this the fact that the team of Israeli military advisers, whom we met on our way down there, were arranging an exercise in that area to be conducted by the Military Academy: and you do not have a picture of great danger or tension.

8. I have got the same picture from the Sudanese Ambassador. Admittedly of course he would not wish to confirm rumours of incursions of refugees and troops from his side: but he is an intelligent, forthcoming and, I would guess, reasonably truthful man and I do not think he would be inclined to dismiss the problem altogether, if one did exist.

9. As I reported in other correspondence, the Emperor told me some six weeks ago that he was thinking of moving the capital of Illubabor Province from Gore to Gambela. I do not think he would be doing this if Gambela were the centre of disturbance: he would have no interest in moving the administration into such conditions: he would rather leave it as it is and merely base the police on Gambela to liquidate whatever is going on. I have incidentally heard no reports at all of any Ethiopian troops being moved into the province. Surely this would be one of the first things they would do if all these other reports were true?

10. As I started off by saying, it is difficult to get accurate information about all this, but my firm impression is that there is a great deal of wild talk going around, to which too much credit should not be given.

11. I am sending copies of this letter to Chanceries in Khartoum, Kampala, Nairobi and Washington.

Johns son

John.

(J.W. Russell)

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Registry
No. VA 1821/2

Top Secret.
Secret.
Confidential.
Restricted.
Open.

W.S.V.
20/7

Insert Telephone No. & Ext.
when appropriate.

21 JUL 1965

BAG 230.

WED
pm

~~DATA~~

21/7.

20

5

Draft. Letter to:

H.
Mr. A. Walker,

W'ston

from:

W. J. Norton

In § 5 of my letter
VK 1022/8 of 13 July,
I mentioned our interest in
periodic exchanges with the
Americans on Ethiopia.

2. When you next
talk to the State Dept. on
this subject, we should
welcome an American assessment

of the situation on the Ethiopia/
South Sudan border in the Gambela
area

RECEIVED IN DIVISION	
20 JUL 1965	
SENT TO BY	20/7 ael.
DESPATCHED	21/7 ael.

of the situation in the southern
part of the Ethiopia/Sudan
border, ~~is the Gambela~~ near

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

GAMBELA
Gambela (correspondence rests with
Sir J. Russell's letter to
Laurence (1022/65) of 3 July,
copied to Chancery Washington).

WJN:
20/7.

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

CONFIDENTIAL

(VA 1821/2)

FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1.

21 July, 1965.

Dear Angus

In paragraph 5 of my letter VK 1022/8 of 13 July, I mentioned our interest in periodic exchanges with the Americans on Ethiopia.

2. When you next talk to the State Department on this subject, we should welcome an American assessment of the situation in the southern part of the Ethiopia/Sudan border, near Gambela (correspondence rests with Sir John Russell's letter to Laurence (1022/65) of 3 July, copied to Chancery Washington).

Yours ever,
W.J.E. Norton
Sg.

(W.J.E. Norton)
North and East African Department

A.H.Walker, Esq.,
WASHINGTON.

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P/w



(10228)

BRITISH EMBASSY,
WASHINGTON, D.C.

RECEIVED IN
ARCHIVES 12

29 JUL 1965

26 July, 1965

Dear Bill

VA 1821/2(c)

VA 1821/2

As suggested in your letter (VA 1821/2) of 21 July I discussed Sir John Russell's letter (1022/65) of 3 July to Peter Laurence about Sudanese refugees in Ethiopia, with Fred Galanto, the Ethiopia desk officer.

2. Galanto said that he agreed with the view that the recent reports of Sudanese troops and refugees in Ethiopia considered in Sir J. Russell's letter were grossly exaggerated. However, it was his understanding that Sudanese did sometimes cross the frontier when being sought by the Sudanese army and hole up with kinsfolk in Ethiopia for a month or so at a time in order to avoid arrest. Sudanese troops sometimes made incursions into Ethiopian territory when looking for dissidents but he had not heard of these being made in any numbers or to any depth. Sudanese refugees did not constitute, in his view, a serious problem at the present time.

Yours ever

Angus

(A.H. Walker)

W.J.E. Norton Esq.,
North and East African Dept.,
FOREIGN OFFICE. S.W.1

V

(Security Grading—to be Up-graded where Appropriate)

NORTH AND EAST AFRICAN DEPT.

1965

ETHIOPIA.

✓VA1821/3

FROM

A. L. Mayall, Addis
Ababa, 10 Addis Ababa

No.

1022/65

Dated

2 September

Received

10 September

SUBJECT:

Notice issued on 30 August by the Ethiopia
Ministry of the Interior about conditions under
which Indonesian refugees will be permitted
to remain in Ethiopia

Encloses Copy of:

References and Relevant Papers:

(Outward Action)

8. J. R. Chancery W. 13/9

MINUTES

Copy: Chancery Washington

W. 13/9

(Printing Instructions)

(Referred to Legal Adviser)

(Action
completed)

(Main Indexed)

ad.
13/9/65

9/3/67

LAST PAGE

102255



British Embassy,
Addis Ababa.

2 September, 1965 *Sute*

(+ Copy to
Landing?)

Dear Ronald,

The press of 31 August issued the text of a notice issued on 30 August by the Ethiopian Ministry of the Interior about the conditions under which Sudanese refugees will be permitted to remain in this country. The notice was issued in accordance with an agreement signed between Ethiopia and the Sudan on 28 July, 1965. The following are the five conditions:-

1. "He/she will reside peacefully as a political refugee without engaging himself/herself in subversive activities or political movements or propaganda that are harmful to the Republic of the Sudan.
2. He/she will not be allowed to deal in arms and ammunition trade nor to possess any type of weapon.
3. During the refugee's residence in Ethiopia, he/she will be obliged to report his/her address and occupation.
 - (a) to the Public Security Department if residence is in Addis Ababa,
 - (b) to the nearest concerned Governor if residence is in the Provinces.
4. When changing residence address within Ethiopia, or upon leaving Ethiopia, the refugee will be obliged to report to the Authorities mentioned hereabove in 3 (a) (b).
5. Necessary legal measures will be taken against refugees who do not abide by the aforementioned conditions!

I am copying this letter to Khartoum, Nairobi, Kampala, Leopoldville and Bangui.

Yours ever
1
les

(A. L. Mayall)
British Chargé d'Affaires

R. S. Scrivener, Esq., C.M.G.,
North and East African Department,
S.W.1.

